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AUTHENTICITY OF THE GOSPELS.

“Verbum est sicut Hortus, qui Paradisus Cælestis vocandus est, in quo cupediæ et deliciæ omnis generis sunt, cupediæ ex fructibus et deliciæ ex floribus, in cujus medio sunt Arbores vitæ, juxta quas fontes aquæ vivæ: et circum Hortum sunt arbores silvæ.”

SWEDENBORG: *Vera Christiana Religio*, n. 259.

Chandler, Peleg Whitman

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

AUTHENTICITY OF THE GOSPELS.

BY A LAYMAN.

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TO H. P. C.

It is to gratify you that the following remarks, a portion of which have already appeared in a religious magazine, are now presented to the public in this form. They make no pretension to theological learning, nor even to originality. They are simply the suggestions of one who has been led to investigate for himself in relation to some truths that are usually taken for granted, or are rejected without any substantial reason. Many educated men have seasons of doubt in regard to the authenticity and genuineness of the gospel record. "How do we know," Mr. Choate once exclaimed, "that these works were written by the men whose names they bear?" Upon a somewhat careful examination of the present state of the controversy, as exhibited in the writings of the able and learned and generally candid men who have discussed it, the conclusion seems more than reasonable, that the historical or external evidences of the Christian system are reliable. But it is important to understand clearly at the outset, how the investigation of this question should be conducted. Those who seek to apply a kind of evidence that is out

of place, those who deny that the matter is attended with any difficulties, those who merely indulge in sneers and denunciation, do the cause of truth no good; they weaken rather than strengthen a belief in Christianity.

Persons who are disposed to investigate the subject in a candid spirit may rely on two things. First, that such a course is not attended with any danger; it will strengthen their faith in the sacred writings; and, secondly, they will find the examination remarkably interesting. The standard works of Dr. Lardner, Dr. Paley, Mr. Norton, Dr. Palfrey, and the more recent volume of Mr. Fisher are attractive reading; and the View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion by Soame Jenyns, Leslie's Method with the Deists, and even Watson's replies to Gibbon and Paine, with numerous other similar works, are excellent specimens of controversial discussion. But to those who are led forward on a higher plane, and undertake a careful examination of the sacred writings themselves, by the light of the doctrines taught by Emanuel Swedenborg, the lines of Milton will have an added power:—

How charming is divine philosophy!
Not harsh, and crabbed, as dull fools suppose;
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

Boston, Christmas, 1866.

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AUTHENTICITY OF THE GOSPELS.

It is just twenty years since Mr. Greenleaf, the Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University, published his Examination of the Four Evangelists, by the Rules of Evidence Administered in Courts of Justice. The learned author had previously obtained an enviable reputation by his Treatise on Evidence, which soon became a standard authority in the legal profession, and still maintains its position as one of the most elaborate, accurate and satisfactory works that has ever been written on the subject. In the work first above mentioned it was not the author's design to enter upon any general examination of the evidences of Christianity, but to confine the inquiry to the testimony of the four Evangelists, bringing their narratives to the tests

to which other evidence is subjected in human tribunals. Professor Greenleaf entertained the opinion, that, in subjecting the testimony of the sacred writers to these tests, one of the strongest foundations of Christian faith could be laid, and one that would be eminently satisfactory to men who are trained in habits of severe logic by the actual character of their daily avocations. In this he was not singular. Mr. Justice Story of the Supreme Court of the United States, and before him Mr. Chief Justice Parsons of Massachusetts, used to express themselves strongly in the same direction. Indeed, the veneration of judges and lawyers for the legal rules of evidence not seldom renders them skeptical of any facts that cannot be established according to those rules; and they sometimes apply them to subjects where they are really an obstruction rather than an aid in the establishment of truth.

It is doubtful whether any legal writer could have illustrated his idea with greater ability than Mr. Greenleaf. A lawyer of great eminence, successful alike in the advocacy of causes before juries and in the arguments of questions

of law before the judges ; possessed of great legal acumen ; thoroughly read in his profession ; having the rare faculty of expressing his ideas with remarkable clearness and force, and withal a man of deeply religious sensibilities, he applied himself to the task he had proposed as the crowning effort of his life, with the greatest interest and the most earnest zeal.

The work was a failure. Not in style or method, nor yet in argumentation ; but essentially a failure in this, that it did not meet the issue ; or rather, it was an attempt to reconcile irreconcilable things—to make use of certain principles in a class of subjects to which they have no sort of application.

The common law rules of evidence, as formerly administered in courts of justice, are many of them essentially absurd when considered in the present state of jurisprudence and civil polity. They have grown up from, or grown out of, a state of semi-barbarism. They have been modified considerably by the results of experience and by increasing sense in judicial investigations. But they were to a certain extent arbitrary, irreconcilable, inconsistent, and not seldom

absurd. The author of *Amelia*, no mean authority on this very point, declared that no branch of the law was more bulky, more full of confusion and contradiction, and almost of absurdity, than the law of evidence. A great many able men have said things equally strong. Mr. Bentham, as is well known, devoted his great talents especially to an exposition of the absurdities of this branch of jurisprudence. In treating of the artificial rules that had been adopted in various countries for the exclusion of certain kinds of testimony in courts of justice, he declared, that the divergence from natural equity had been complete, and stated it as his belief, that, if all the grounds of exclusion were collected into one from the various systems, including the Gentoo and Chinese, no witness in any cause could possibly be examined at all. And it may be here remarked, that since Mr. Greenleaf's day, most important and radical changes in the rules of evidence have been introduced in England and America. These alterations have been most strongly opposed by able lawyers, who saw in them nothing but evil; although the practical effect has been to diminish litigation, aid in the

establishment of justice and facilitate the trial of causes: and, it may be safely said, that the universal sense of the bench and the bar is now in favor of the changes that have been made. In the light of these recent changes, and of the experience under them, it is easy to see that the application of the old rules of evidence to aid in the establishment and defence of Christian truth, must result in failure, inasmuch as the subject is capable of clearer, more satisfactory and consistent treatment, and is rather weakened than strengthened by a course like this.

For instance, Mr. Greenleaf lays down the law in relation to the admissibility and proof of ancient writings with great simplicity and ample learning; but when he undertakes to make the application of these principles to the writings of the Evangelists, how does the case stand? Where are the ancient writings? Where are even the copies of those writings of a character suitable to be proved in a court of justice, and who are the witnesses to identify them? "The first inquiry," he says, "when an ancient document is offered in evidence in our courts is, whether it is found in the place where, and

under the care of persons with whom, such writings might naturally and reasonably be expected to be found. If they come from such a place and bear no evident marks of forgery, the law presumes that they are genuine and they are to be admitted to be read in evidence; unless the opposing party is able successfully to impeach them." Now suppose we apply this rule, where will it land us? What ancient writings can be produced? In what control are they found? Where have they been kept? Not a scrap of any thing exists that could by any possibility be admitted in a court of justice under this rule. Nobody doubts the fact that there was a man named Julius Cæsar and that he wrote a famous book; but it would puzzle a lawyer of more acuteness and learning than Mr. Greenleaf to prove this in a court of justice by the established rules of evidence. When general historical facts are alluded to in the courts, they are sometimes admissible as matters known to the court, but not as facts capable of proof as you would show the title to an estate. Or, as Mr. Roscoe quaintly puts it, general history seems only to be used to refresh the memory of the jury on notorious

facts, which require no evidence at all.¹ In truth this attempt and all attempts to sustain the Christian system on any such principles have a strong tendency to weaken the cause, by leading men who cannot fail to see the fallacy, to suppose that the evidence fails to support the case, when in truth the evidence is not applicable to the case. It neither proves it nor disproves it. It has nothing to do with it. We allude to the point thus distinctly, because it is not uncommon to hear lawyers and judges speak of the subject in a watery way, as though the Christian system could be proved by the rules of evidence as administered in courts of justice, the direct tendency of which is, not only to confuse the mind of the unbeliever, but in fact to lower the character of the proofs on which he must rely. Professor Greenleaf performed his task with ability, but there never was an instance where the maxim was more applicable — *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*.

A work has been recently published by Mr. Fisher, the Professor of Church History in Yale College, on the Supernatural Origin of Chris-

¹ Roscoe's *Nisi Prius*, Evidence, 179.

tianity,¹ which is not only written with rare clearness and power, but with a degree of candor and fairness that are somewhat unusual in works of this description. It exhibits the present state of the controversy, and shows conclusively, that the church is struggling with difficulties of an appalling character. Mere denunciation will not do. The character of the men who are now attacking the supernatural origin of Christianity—the ability displayed in this attack—the learning that is brought to bear—are such, that those who rely on external or historical evidences as the foundation of their faith feel the necessity of more than usual exertion. They are really alarmed and they have reason to be alarmed. In the first place, as Mr. Fisher distinctly admits, the *tone* of the existing skepticism and unbelief is in remarkable contrast with that of other periods of the past. It is not disgraced by ribaldry. “The writers are men whose characters and lives forbid the idea that their unbelief is intended as an excuse for licentiousness.” “In

¹ *Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity, with special reference to the theories of Renan, Strauss and the Tübingen School.* By Rev. George P. Fisher, M.A., Professor of Church History in Yale College. New York: 1866.

contrast with the past, unbelief is oftener now an infection than a wilful attack. There are more at present who can be truly said to be *afflicted* with doubt. Just place Paine's *Age of Reason* by the side of Renan's newly published *Life of Christ!* The difference of the old infidelity from the new is instantly felt by the dullest observer." He also admits, that "the comparative strength of the infidel party in our times is underrated by not a few even of Christian teachers." He alludes to "the subtler form which skepticism has assumed;" "though less tangible and pugnacious, it is more diffused, like an atmosphere." "A large number of the leaders of opinion on matters outside of the sphere of religion, are adherents, more or less outspoken, of the skeptical school." "Infidelity appears in better dress and better company than of old; it takes on the function of the educator and social reformer; it prefers a compromise with Christianity to a noisy crusade against it."

It may be remarked in this connection, that some of the ablest attacks on the received doctrines of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches have come from persons high in eccle-

siastical authority. Besides the famous *Essays and Reviews*, and Renan's remarkable *Life of Christ*, the recent work of Bishop Colenso is certainly a severe blow at received opinions, for he deliberately announces most important discoveries of criticism bearing upon historical theology, nothing less than evidences that the first six books of the Bible—the corner-stones of the whole Canon—were not written by their supposed authors and are not historically true, much less divinely inspired and infallible. Bishop Colenso sums up the results of his work thus, as an accumulation of evidences:—“*All the arguments drawn from an examination of the Pentateuch point in one direction. There is literally nothing in these books distinctly indicative of Mosaic authorship. The whole force of the argument for that authorship rests upon tradition, and may be referred back to the opinion of the Jews who lived nearly a thousand years after the date assigned to Moses. It is not a question of balanced internal evidence, but a case where there is a host of indications, all tending to show diversity of authorship, and late date, and none discoverable by all the ingenuity yet brought to bear*

upon the subject, which tends decidedly the other way; and the supporters of the traditional view will be found to be constantly occupied, not in producing internal evidence to show that Moses *did* write the Pentateuch, but in trying to account for the existence, on the assumption of his authorship, of so much internal evidence to the contrary.”¹

Mr. Fisher considers the question of the historical reality of scriptural miracles as involving the whole claim of Christianity to be a revelation. “Revelation and miracle are inseparable from each other.” The *Life of Christ* by Strauss, he adds, is simply an elaborate attempt to set aside miracles by propounding some hypotheses more plausible than the old exploded theory of a wilful deception on the part of the early disciples. The *Life of Christ* by Renan is likewise little more than an effort to account for Christ and Christianity and the Christian Scriptures, without giving credence to miraculous events. We shall not stop here to consider the

¹ See the remarkable work of Frances Power Cobbe, entitled *Broken Lights: An Inquiry into the Present Condition and Future Prospects of Religious Faith*. Boston: 1864. Page 133.

error, for so we regard it, of the admission that the whole question turns on the authenticity of the miracles. This is the usual Protestant view ; and the prominence given to that kind of evidence is nothing new. He regards the principal question in the controversy with unbelief, as an historical one. "We should make it our first aim to substantiate the great facts which are recorded in the New Testament, and which formed the pith and marrow of the apostles' testimony. We must meet the skeptic on the ordinary level of historical investigation, and bring before him the proof that the Gospel miracles were actually performed, substantially as these histories of the New Testament narrate."

To this question, as one of a purely historic fact, the author applies himself with ability, learning and success. To New Churchmen there are other and more important considerations relating to the spiritual sense of the sacred writings. They believe them to be true because the internal sense demonstrates them to be so. But still the merely external argument, the proof of this truth as we prove other facts, is important and interesting. It is desirable that

a certain class of skeptics should be met on their own ground and should be treated fairly in a discussion of the subject upon its merits, as in the examination of any other event of the past. It is not intended to state the argument here, much less to allude to the proofs at any length. But, upon a careful examination of them, the conclusion is irresistible, that, as a purely historical question, the genuineness of the gospels is as well established as any matter relating to the history of the past.

Mr. Fisher regards the gospel of John as one of the main pillars of historical Christianity. The profoundest minds in the church, he says, from Clement of Alexandria to Luther, and from Luther to Niebuhr, have expressed their sense of the singular charm and surpassing value of this gospel. Now, the genuineness of this gospel has, in recent times, been seriously impugned. It was denied to be the work of John by individual skeptics at the close of the last century. But this attack did not attract much attention. Nor did the question excite serious discussion until Bretschneider published (in 1820) his *Probabilia*. A more serious assault has recently

been made by the critics of the Tübingen school, and there is now existing a most earnest controversy on this very point. The objecting critics insist that there was a radical difference and hostility between the Jewish and the Gentile types of Christianity,—between the party of the church that adhered to Peter and the original disciples, and the party that adhered to Paul and his doctrine: they ascribe several books of the New Testament to the effort made at a later day to bridge over this gulf. The Acts of the Apostles, they argue, proceeds from this motive, and is a designed distortion and misrepresentation of events connected with the conflict about the rights of the Gentile converts. The fourth gospel is a product of the same pacifying tendency. It was written, they say, about the middle of the second century by a Christian of Gentile birth, who assumed the name of John, in order to give an apostolic sanction to his high theological platform, in which love takes the place of faith and the Jewish system is shown to be fulfilled, and so abolished by the offering of Christ, the true Paschal Lamb.

What then is the evidence of the genuineness

of this gospel? How do we know that it was really written by the beloved disciple of the Lord? Of course, there is nothing like immediate or positive proof, any more than there is of the Commentaries of Cæsar. There is no original manuscript nor any copy which Mr. Greenleaf could bring into court. Nor is this the kind of evidence required by the nature of the case. Indeed, anything of the sort if offered would at once be rejected as an impudent forgery.

In the first place, nobody disputes the fact of the universal reception of the fourth gospel as genuine in the last quarter of the second century. At that time it was held in every part of Christendom to be the work of the Apostle John. The prominent witnesses are Tertullian in North Africa, Clement in Alexandria, and Irenæus in Gaul. Of the latter it should be remarked, that he was a Greek, born in Asia Minor in the year 140. Coming to Lyons and holding there first the office of Presbyter and then, in the year 178, that of Bishop, he was familiar with the church in both the East and the West. Moreover,—and this is a great point,

— he had in his youth known and conversed with Polycarp of Smyrna, the immediate disciple of John, and retained a vivid recollection of the person and words of this remarkable man.

Now Irenæus not only testifies to the universal acceptance in the church of the fourth gospel, but also argues — and this is certainly a suggestive fact to New Churchmen — that there *must* be four and only four gospels to stand as pillars of the truth. Then, there was Origen, whose career terminated near the middle of the third century, but he was born but fifteen years before the end of the second, and of Christian parents. Then we have the Canon of Muratori, or the list of canonical books found in an old manuscript in the Milan library, which is certainly not later than the end of the second century, and the ancient Syriac version of the New Testament, the Peshito, having a like antiquity. In both of these monuments the gospel of John is found in its proper place. Polycrates, the Bishop of Ephesus, in the year 196, alludes distinctly to the fourth gospel, and quotes from it. Tatian, supposed to have been a pupil of Justin Martyr, although he swerved from his

teaching, quotes repeatedly from John. Contemporary with Tatian was Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch in 169. He describes John's gospel as a part of the Holy Scriptures, and John himself as a writer guided by the Holy Spirit. Going back to the first half of the second century the writer most entitled to consideration is Justin Martyr, who was born in the year 89; and although a specious argument is made, that he quotes from other gospels than the four now regarded as canonical, this is fairly shown to be an error.

An important part of the external evidence for the genuineness of the fourth gospel, is the tacit or express acknowledgment of the fact by the various heretical parties of the second century; and the author states as an important consideration, that the Artemonites, the party of Unitarians who came forward in Rome near the end of the second century, did not think of disputing the apostolical origin of that gospel to which their opponents were indebted for their strongest weapons. The great doctrinal battle of the church in the second century was with Gnosticism. The struggle with this first heresy of

a Gentile origin began early. The germs of it are distinctly perceived in the apostolic age. At the middle of the second century the conflict with these elaborate systems of error was raging. By Justin, the Valentinians, the Basilideans, the Marcionites and other Gnostic sects are denounced as warmly as by Irenæus and his contemporaries. And by both of the parties in this wide-spread conflict by the Gnostics and the church theologians, the fourth gospel is accepted as the work of John without a lisp of opposition or doubt.

But more important, perhaps, than all the isolated passages of the early writers, is the argument drawn from the moral impossibility of discrediting, in such a case, the tradition of the early church. Upon this point the argument is very interesting. We quote a portion of it:—

“ Few persons who have not specially attended to the subject are aware how long a period is sometimes covered by a very few links of traditional testimony. Lord Campbell, in his ‘Lives of the Chancellors,’ remarks of himself that he had seen a person who had seen a spectator of

the execution of Charles I., in 1649. A single link separated Lord Campbell from the eye-witness of an event occurring upwards of two hundred years before. Suppose this intervening witness to be known by Lord Campbell to be a discriminating and trustworthy person, and we have testimony that is fully credible. We borrow two examples from Mr. Palfrey's excellent 'History of New England.' The first relates to the preservation of the knowledge of the landing-place of the Pilgrims. 'Plymouth Rock,' says the historian, 'is now embedded in a wharf. When this was about to be built, in 1741, Elder Thomas Faunce, then ninety-one years old, came to visit the Rock, and to remonstrate against its being exposed to injury; and he repeated what he had heard of it from the first planters. Elder Faunce's testimony was transmitted through Mrs. White, who died in 1810, ninety-five years old, and Deacon Ephraim Spooner, who died in 1818, at the age of eighty-three.' In another place, Mr. Palfrey has occasion to observe:—'When Josiah Quincy, of Boston, was twelve or thirteen years old, Nathaniel Appleton was still minister of Cambridge,

and a preacher in the Boston pulpits ; Appleton, born in Ipswich in 1693, had often sat, it is likely, on the knees of Governor Bradstreet, who was his father's neighbor ; and Bradstreet came from England, in John Winthrop's company, in 1630. Eyes that had seen men who had seen the founders of a cis-atlantic England, have looked also on New England, as she presents herself to-day.' Mr. Quincy died in 1864. Every man of seventy who can unite his memory with the memories of the individuals who had attained the same age when he was young, can go back through a period of more than a hundred years. He can state what was recollected fifty years ago concerning events that took place a half century before. If, in reference to a particular fact, we fix the earliest age of trustworthy recollection at fifteen, and suppose each of those, whose memories are thus united, to give their report at the age of eighty, there is covered a period of one hundred and thirty years. We can easily think of cases where, from the character of both the witnesses, the evidence thus derived would be entirely conclusive.

“ But traditionary evidence had a special security and a special strength in the case of the early Christian Church. The church, as Mayer forcibly observes, had a physical and spiritual continuity of life. There was a close connection of its members one with another. ‘Like a stream of water, such a stream of youths, adults, and old men is an unbroken whole.’ The church was a community—an association. A body of this kind, says Mayer, recognizes that which is new, as new. It is protected from imposition. How would it be possible, he inquires, for a new Augsburg Confession to be palmed upon the Lutheran Churches as a document that had long been generally accepted ?

“ In estimating the force of this reasoning, we must take notice of the number of the early Christians. We must remember that at the close of the first century Christianity was planted in all the principal cities of the Roman Empire. It was in the great cities and centres of intercourse, as Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Alexandria, Rome, that Christianity was earliest established. As early as Nero’s persecution, (A.D. 64,) the Christians who were condemned consti-

tuted, according to Tacitus, a 'great multitude.' In Asia Minor, in the time of Trajan, or at the close of the century, they had become so numerous that, according to Pliny, the heathen temples were almost deserted. A century later, making due allowance for the rhetorical exaggeration of Tertullian, and not depending on him alone, we are certain that the number of the Christians had vastly multiplied. In every part of the Roman Empire, in all places of consideration, and even in rural districts, Christian assemblies regularly met for worship. And in all these weekly meetings the writings of the apostles were publicly read, as we learn from so early a writer as Justin Martyr.

"Now we have to look at the Christian churches in the second century, and ask if it was possible for a history of Christ, falsely pretending to be from the pen of the Apostle John, to be brought forward twenty, thirty, or forty years after his death, be introduced into all the churches east and west, taking its place everywhere in the public services of Sunday? Was there no one to ask where this new Gospel came from, and where it had lain concealed? Was there no one, of the

many who had personally known John, to expose the gigantic imposture, or even to raise a note of surprise at the unexpected appearance of so important a document, of which they had never heard before? How was the populous church at Ephesus brought to accept this work on the very spot where John had lived and died?"

It may doubtless be surprising to some, that such an earnest effort should be made to disprove the genuineness of a writing that rests on evidence so clear as that of the fourth gospel. A slight acquaintance with literary history, however, will show that the ablest men sometimes indulge in most remarkable theories on kindred subjects. Thus, it is related of Lord Palmerston, that he entertained one of the most extraordinary paradoxes ever broached by a man of his intellectual calibre. He maintained that the plays of Shakspeare were really written by Bacon, who passed them off under the name of an actor, for fear of compromising his professional prospects and philosophical gravity. When, on a certain occasion, the positive testimony of Ben Jonson, in the verses prefixed to the edition of 1623, was adduced, he remarked: "Oh! these fellows always stand up

for one another, or he may have been deceived like the rest." This opinion respecting the authorship of Shakspeare's Plays was entertained, as is well known, by an American lady of some celebrity, Miss Bacon, who wrote a large book to prove it. Another volume in defence of the same position has recently been published by a member of the legal profession,¹ in which he maintains his ground with much ingenuity and ability. He starts with the admitted statement that no original manuscript of any play or poem, letter, or other prose composition, in the handwriting of Shakspeare has ever been discovered. None is known to have been preserved within the reach of the remotest tradition. He admits that Shakspeare was reputed to be the author of these works, in his own time, not merely by the public in general, but by contemporary writers, his fellows of the theatre, the printers and publishers, and some great personages, and that the fact was never publicly questioned in that age. This would seem to be conclusive as to the authorship of these plays; but the author maintains the con-

¹ *The Authorship of Shakspeare.* By Nathaniel Holmes. New York: 1866.

trary with a display of research and an array of circumstantial evidence, which are very curious if not remarkable. He considers that Heming and Condell, the surviving fellows of Shakspeare, who gathered up from the playhouses of London these lasting memorials of transcendental genius, and published what is known as the folio of 1623, were acting at the secret instance and under the direction of Lord Bacon himself; and that the dedication and preface, which have been supposed to be written by Ben Jonson, were in fact written by Bacon. He of course supposes that Ben Jonson must have been in the secret of the arrangement. We smile at a crotchet so absurd as this; but why is it more absurd to deny the genuineness of these plays, than it is to call in question that of the fourth gospel? What more could Professor Greenleaf actually *prove*, by his method, in one case than in the other? Is the reasoning of Lord Palmerston and Miss Bacon and Mr. Holmes any more absurd than that of the Tübingen school? .

In relation to the first three gospels, Mr. Fisher confines his remarks mainly to the recent objections to their authenticity and genuineness,

without giving the full proofs upon which their genuineness depends. It may be expedient, however, in this connection, to refer to some of these as found in other authorities. Were these books the compositions of the persons whose names they bear? Upon this point one great fact stands out in bold relief and is substantiated beyond all question, which is, that, at a period distant from the supposed composition of these books of less than one hundred and fifty years, the four gospels were attributed to the four persons, called the Four Evangelists, by the common consent of the church, which at that time was a very numerous body amounting to not less than three millions of souls scattered throughout the earth. This fact alone would in ordinary historical questions be regarded as satisfactory. Mr. Andrews Norton has examined the question with entire fairness, and has collected and arranged the proofs with great learning and ability, in his *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*. "The direct historical evidence," he says, "for the genuineness of the gospels consists in the indisputable fact, that throughout a community of millions of individuals, scattered over Europe, Asia and Africa,

the gospels were regarded with the highest reverence, as the works of those to whom they are ascribed, at so early a period, that there could be no difficulty in determining whether they were genuine or not, and when every intelligent Christian must have been deeply interested to ascertain the truth. And this fact does not merely involve the testimony of the great body of Christians to the genuineness of the gospels ; it is in itself a phenomenon admitting of no explanation, except that the four gospels had all been handed down as genuine from the apostolic age, and had everywhere accompanied our religion as it spread through the world.”¹

It should be borne in mind, that of the three first, or as they are styled, the Synoptical Gospels, only one is supposed to have been written by an eye-witness of the events described. The second gospel by the universal consent of the ancient church was ascribed to Mark, who is said to have been a companion of Peter and to have written under his superintendence, or at least to have been affected by his teachings. Luke was a com-

¹ *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.* By Andrews Norton. Vol. i. Additional notes p. cclxx, 2d ed.

panion of St. Paul and expressly disclaims having himself been an eye-witness of what he records of the Lord's history. (Luke i. 2.)

Now, in considering the question of the genuineness of these gospels, there are some considerations, apart from the fact that they were so regarded by the early church, which of themselves would be conclusive to a candid mind. It was only about three hundred years after the Crucifixion, that the Christian faith became under Constantine the religion of the Roman Empire. What was the standing of the books at that time? Eusebius was a contemporary of the first Christian emperor and much trusted by him, and he has repeatedly spoken of the Canon of the New Testament in the most exact terms. On any supposition respecting the authorship of the gospels, this writer, as Dr. Palfrey¹ pointedly remarks, did not live at a time more distant from this composition than we from that of the "Faery Queen" of Spenser, or of some of the plays of Shakspeare, and sensible men would hardly be disposed to listen to any doubt respecting the origin of

¹ *Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity.* By John G. Palfrey. Boston: 1843.

these works. Origen, of Alexandria in Egypt, was born a hundred and fifty years after the crucifixion and lived to the age of seventy. In his writings that survive, in the original Greek, there are quotations from all the gospels so numerous, that, if those books were lost, the works of Origen alone would almost afford the materials for a complete restoration of them. In the works of Clement of Alexandria, still extant, who flourished at the end of the second century, there are numerous citations from the four gospels. In one place he says in reference to an alleged declaration of Christ: — “We have not that declaration in the four gospels handed down to us.” Tertullian in Carthage, a contemporary of Clement, who was born one hundred and twenty years after the crucifixion, speaks of the universal reception of the gospels and traces it to uninterrupted tradition in the churches gathered by the apostles themselves. He quotes from every chapter of Matthew, Luke and John. Then, we have Irenæus, whose quotations from the four gospels have been collected by a modern critic and fill about eleven closely printed folio columns. He ascribes these books explicitly to the writers

whose names they now bear. Of their authority he speaks as follows : “ We have not received the knowledge of the way of our salvation by any others, than those by whom the gospel has been brought to us ; which gospel they first preached, and afterwards by the will of God committed to writing, that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith. . . . For, after our Lord had risen from the dead, and they [the apostles] were endowed from above with the power of the Holy Ghost coming down upon them, they received a perfect knowledge of all things. They then went forth to all the ends of the earth, declaring to men the blessing of heavenly peace, having all of them, and every one alike, the gospel of God. Matthew, then among the Jews, wrote a gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome, and founding a church there. And, after their departure, Mark also, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter ; and Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the gospel preached by him. Afterwards, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, he likewise published

a gospel while he dwelt at Ephesus in Asia. And all these have delivered to us, that there is one God, the maker of the heaven and the earth, declared by the Law and the Prophets, and one Christ, the son of God. And he who does not assent to them, despiseth indeed those who knew the mind of the Lord, and he despiseth also Christ himself, the Lord, and he despiseth likewise the Father.”¹

Justin Martyr was born in Samaria in the year 90. He became a convert to Christianity and wrote several books, in which he has numerous quotations of the gospels except Mark, as containing authentic accounts of Jesus Christ and his doctrines. He mentions the reading of the gospels in the solemn assemblies of the Christians, and he appeals to them in the most public manner and they were manifestly open to all the world. Earlier even than Justin, there are found in Eusebius quotations from a now lost work by Papias, bishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia, who flourished in the year 116, in which he speaks of the gospels of Matthew and Mark, applying to

¹ *Palfrey's Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity*, Vol. i. p. 120.

them the title of oracles and declaring Mark's gospel to have been a record of the oral narrations of Peter.

An objection might be made that the evidence, in order to be conclusive, should go nearer the time when the gospels purport to have been written, and that all the above mentioned writers were in the next generation. But this is clearly unreasonable, and is not applied to other works in order to test their authenticity. In the first place, it does not appear that there now exists any writing from a Christian who lived in the apostolic age; and even if there were, and if no reference were made to these gospels, it would be just as probable that the omission arose from the fact that they were universally received as genuine, as the contrary. Who would at this day, in a book, speak of the genuineness of Wordsworth's poems, or Allison's histories, or would think it necessary to assert that any well known volume, published in the name of an author in the present generation and universally recognized as his work, was really his production?

These citations might be extended, but the fact of the early traditions of the church, the univer-

sal acceptance of the gospels as authentic, and the references to, and citations from them by writers in the second and third centuries, concerning the genuineness of whose works there is no question, are sufficient evidence for conscientious inquirers. Who at this day would for a moment doubt that celebrated literary works, written within the last one hundred and fifty years, were the genuine productions of the persons to whom they have been, from the first, universally attributed?

The main effort of modern skeptics, so far as the first three gospels are concerned, is to bring down their date to a time subsequent to the apostolic age. The attempt is made to show that these books were prepared long after the actors in the events had passed away; that they comprise floating stories and traditions, which were gathered up at or after the end of the century in which Christ and his immediate disciples lived.¹

¹ Some of the objections have relation to the uncanonical gospels which were occasionally amplifications of the true gospels, sometimes with apocryphal details. There is no space to allude to these discussions at greater length here, but those who desire to pursue the investigation will find it very interesting. In the Latin translation of Origen's commentary on Matthew, there is quoted from the uncanon-

The arguments of skeptics, in the last century, against the authenticity and genuineness of the gospels are familiar to most readers, as well as the answers to them. The most striking and peculiar form of unbelief in our time is the *Mythical Theory* of Strauss and the *Legendary Theory* of Renan. The Life of Christ by the former is an elaborate and able work, by a man of learning and great rhetorical skill. He undertakes to construct a Life of Christ and at the same time to assert the impossibility of miracles. His original theory was briefly this, as set forth by Mr. Fisher: — There existed in Palestine, at the time when Jesus grew up to manhood, a wide-spread expectation of the coming of the Messiah. There was also a defined conception, the result of the teaching of the Old Testament and of later speculation, of the character of his work. Among

ical Gospel of the Hebrews, an account of the young man, as in Matthew, who comes to Jesus with his question as to the method of attaining eternal life. He is told to obey the law and the prophets. He replies, "I have done so." Jesus said unto him, "Come, sell all that thou hast and divide among the poor, and come, follow me." "But the rich man *began to scratch his head,*" &c. It shows the minuteness and sharpness of the criticisms on these subjects, that this passage is cited as strong evidence of the early date of the first gospel, as the passage was evidently taken from that gospel, and the antiquity of the Gospel of the Hebrews is not denied.

other things, he was to work miracles, such as the opening of the eyes of the blind, the healing of the sick, the raising of the dead; and he was, generally, to outdo the supernatural works ascribed to Moses and Elijah and the other prophets of the former time. Jesus, who had been baptized by John, became at length persuaded that he was the promised Messiah. Endowed with lofty qualities of mind and character, he attached to himself disciples who shared in his belief concerning himself. He taught with power through the towns and villages of Palestine. But, encountering the bitter hatred of the ruling classes on account of his rebuke of their iniquities, he was seized upon and put to death under Pontius Pilate. Overwhelmed with grief and disappointment, his disciples, who had expected of him a political triumph, were finally comforted and inspirited by the mistaken belief that he had been raised from the dead. Hence the cause of Jesus was not crushed, but gradually gained strength. And out of the bosom of the young community, filled with enthusiastic attachment to their slain and (as they believed) risen Lord, there sprung the mythical tales which we

find in the gospels. Believing Jesus to be the Messiah, they attributed to him spontaneously the deeds which the prophecies had ascribed to that personage. In these mythical creations, the formative idea was the Old Testament description of the Messiah. This idea, coupled with the faith in Jesus, generated the gospel history of Christ, so far as that is miraculous, and even exerted a very important influence in shaping and coloring circumstances in the narrative which are not supernatural. The Christ of the New Testament is thus the ideal Messiah. He is Jesus of Nazareth, glorified in the feeling and fancy of disciples by the ascription to him of supernatural power and supernatural deeds, such as lay in the traditional, cherished image of the Messiah.

The denial of the genuineness of the four gospels is an essential part of Strauss's theory. They cannot come, he maintains, from "eye-witnesses or well-informed contemporaries." The apostles could not be deceived to such an extent as we should be compelled to assume, if we granted that the gospels exhibit their testimony. On the subject of the origin of the gospels, Strauss is neither full nor clear; but this is affirmed, that they are

the production of later, non-apostolic writers. This position he strives to establish by a critical analysis and comparison of these documents. The attempt is made to prove upon them such inconsistencies with each other, as well as violations of probability, as render it impossible to suppose that they came from the hand, or bear the sanction, of the immediate followers of Christ. The credibility of the gospels is attacked, partly as a means of disproving their genuineness. And the method of the attack is to press the point of the improbability of the miracles, while, at the same time, the untrustworthy character of the narratives is elaborately argued on other grounds. The gospels are dissected with the critical knife, their structure and contents are subjected to a minute examination, for the purpose of impressing the reader with the conviction that, independently of their record of miracles, these histories are too inaccurate and self-contradictory to be relied on. Their alleged imperfections are skillfully connected with the improbable nature of the events they record, so that the effect of both considerations may be to break down their historic value.

Such was the original theory of Strauss a quarter of a century ago. He has recently (1864) developed a new one, and it is said that his re-statement is to a large extent a retraction. Of intentional deception, he professed at first to acquit the gospel authorities. He considered them artless, enthusiastic devotees, carried away by a common enthusiasm and unwittingly mistaking fiction for fact. Now, he makes them skilful theologians, bent on pushing forward certain tenets or allaying some doctrinal strife, and not scrupling to resort to pious fraud to accomplish their end.

Renan's *Life of Jesus* has had a great circulation, and is the production of a learned man. As to the gospels he admits or asserts, that they all date back to the first century, and are substantially by the authors to whom they are attributed. But this concession must be taken with other remarks in connection with it, such as this, that the title the Gospel *according to Matthew* and that of the other gospels, originally denoted, not authorship, but rather the source whence the traditions found in the several gospels were drawn. He contradicts the Tübingen theory

respecting the fourth gospel, and affirms that it has the early date commonly assigned to it. He affirms that in the early church little importance was attached to the written gospels; that for a hundred and fifty years the evangelical texts possessed little authority; that there was no scruple about inserting additions, combining them diversely, or completing some by others. He adopts the *legendary* in distinction from the *mythical* theory. These accounts were rather the transfiguration of fact, than a pure creation of pious enthusiasm. At least a great part of these accounts, he insists, emanate from the apostles themselves, and acts that passed for miraculous figured largely in the life of Jesus, who himself permitted the belief that he miraculously healed the sick and raised the dead. Renan regards the gospels as legendary narratives, like the lives of some of the mediæval saints; and that the events in the life of Jesus which seemed miraculous, wore this character partly through the blind enthusiasm of the apostles, and partly through pious fraud in which they had an active and their master a consenting agency.

It is not necessary, nor is it agreeable to pur-

sue this branch of the subject further. We have endeavored to state the present position of the controversy, in order to show more conclusively the struggle now going on among the religious sects as to the very foundation of their belief. The Bible itself is in apparent danger, and the attacks made upon it, as before remarked, are by men who cannot be answered by a sneer or turned aside by abuse, — by men who are themselves professing Christians, and by some who hold high positions in the church. The preceding remarks are confined mainly to a statement of the argument in relation to the *genuineness* of the gospels, but the objections to their *authenticity* are no less relied upon by the skeptic. That is, not only is it denied that the gospels were written by the persons whose names they bear, but it is also denied that they are authentic narratives. It is not easy to separate the arguments on the two branches of the subject, since they run into each other, and the purpose of both is substantially the same, namely to discredit all written revelation.

This contest is not in the least surprising; nor is it discouraging. To entertain doubts on these

subjects is, to those who receive the doctrines of Swedenborg, simply impossible. The historical argument in favor of the genuineness of the gospels, they regard as sound and unanswerable. They also believe the facts stated by the evangelists to be literally true. But besides and beyond all this, they believe that the gospels, like the rest of the Word, were written strictly according to the science of Correspondence, and that they contain within the letter an *internal sense*, which bears the same relation to the external or literal sense, that the soul does to the body. Whatever apparent inconsistencies there may be in the gospels, considered as narrations of facts, there is no inconsistency in the internal sense, which is one, complete and effective. It was the special mission of Swedenborg to open or explain this internal sense of the Word. This he did, not on his own authority. His explanations are not like those of mere commentators on the Bible. They are not capricious, or arbitrary, or changeable. But he opens a system or a science according to which the Scriptures were written. He develops a plenary inspiration, more wonderful than any discoveries in science or the arts,—a system

which proves itself, or rather, which would show any fallacy on his part, and would certainly expose him, if his own explanations are not consistent with the system and with himself.

Whatever assaults, therefore, may be made on the Word; whatever errors may be pointed out in the literal sense; however absurd the statements therein contained may be alleged to be, they do not in the least affect our faith in the plenary inspiration, simply because they do not reach it. They are all on a lower plane. "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." We believe the miracles to be true. But we do not rely on them, nor pin our faith to them, nor admit for a moment that, if they are not substantiated, the gospels are not revelations from God. On the contrary, we regard the latter as living truths, speaking to us now, commanding men everywhere to repent, aiding them in a life for heaven,—a most precious fountain of truth and full of wonderful things, so that if all were explained in detail, the whole world would not contain the books that must be written.

Nothing more surprises recent converts to our faith, than the apparent indifference of theolo-

gians to the principles on which Swedenborg shows the scriptures to have been written. They make an infinite deal of research into the local traditions of the past; they ransack the whole field of history; they bury themselves in the speculative theories of half barbaric ages; they spend years in the infinitely minute learning of philologists; but when a man of pure life, of exalted station and of great learning, develops the simplest possible theory of Scripture inspiration, he scarcely obtains a hearing from these theological investigators, or his claims are turned aside with a sneer. On the other hand, the entire confidence with which his doctrines are held by the receivers of them, and the scarcely perceptible impression which opposition or denial of their truth makes upon them, is sometimes matter of surprise and comment to those outside of the church.

But neither of these circumstances is remarkable. That those who are wedded to the old theological dogmas, and particularly that men of learning should look with suspicion and aversion upon the doctrine of Correspondence, which opens the internal sense of the Scriptures, and

which renders a great deal of the church literature and theological discussions of no more consequence than the solemn nonsense of the school-men in the Middle Ages, is not remarkable. Nor, on the other hand, is the firmness of belief of New Churchmen justly attributable to bigoted intolerance or narrow self-conceit. If we desire to enter a room, which is known to be fastened by a lock of peculiar construction, and a person exhibits a key and expatiates on its merits and asserts that it will unlock the door, and goes into a long explanation of the character and structure of the lock, we may believe him or not, according to our understanding of the subject; but if he actually *applies the key and opens the door before our eyes*, there is an end of argument. We pass into the room, and wonder at those who remain behind discussing the method of opening the door. When Swedenborg asserts that the Word has an internal sense, and develops the system on which it was written, and furnishes the key; when those who apply it find the wonderful things he relates to be actually so; when they perceive, that, whatever may be the difficulties of the literal Scriptures, whatever

apparent inconsistencies may exist, these all disappear in the internal sense, they have passed to a higher plane, and are not affected by arguments and disputes of those who still remain on the lower one. Nor is the simplicity of the doctrine of correspondences, according to which the Word is written, or the apparent difficulty of its application, a matter that should discourage those who are disposed to examine it. Most great discoveries have been remarkable for their simplicity, and, sometimes, even for their accidental occurrence. The falling of an apple is said to have led the philosopher to discover the great laws of gravitation, which effected an entire revolution in philosophical investigations, and rendered utterly useless, if not ridiculous, the discoveries of the learned for ages. Nor is it reasonable to expect, that, although the principles on which the Word is written are plain and simple, — namely, that of an exact correspondence between things spiritual and natural, — the application of this principle is to be made in a day, or by every person who undertakes it. The doctrine opens a vast field of inquiry. It shows the Bible to be not merely the most wonderful

book ever written, but it shows that it is more wonderful than anything else we see in the world. The Word of the Lord must be above His mere works as exhibited in nature. No educated man now denies the doctrine of attraction or gravitation ; but because he receives this, does he think he can at once comprehend all the wonders of creation ? Does he who believes in the modern theory of the planetary system, therefore or thereby become a learned astronomer ? And because he does not, will he therefore reject the theory, and go back to the dark ages ?

Meanwhile, the truth will hold its own. The doubts which are experienced in regard to the received canon ; the assaults that are made upon the gospels ; the absolute denial of their authenticity by men who profess to be Christians, will tend to separate the real from the factitious. Theologians are put upon their good behavior. Denunciations, assertions, objurgations will pass for what they are worth. There is a spirit of inquiry abroad that will not be satisfied in this way. Nor will thinking and earnest men be content with mere external evidences. Many

writers on this subject have gained an enviable reputation for the learning, ability and fairness with which they have conducted the controversy. Their works are valuable as far as they go. But they do not reach a growing difficulty. The same kind of reasoning might be applied to Cæsar's Commentaries, or Xenophon's Anabasis, and would, or ought to be, entirely satisfactory as to the genuineness of such works. But after all, in matters affecting the eternal welfare of men, they desire something more. It is easy to admit the authenticity and genuineness of works, which, if they be not worthy of entire confidence, are of no special importance. But in regard to gospels which come with a claim of Divine power, or which command us in matters of vast consequence — nothing less than the momentous concerns of the future life — we need a higher illustration; the spirit yearns for something more satisfactory.

It is worthy of remark, also, that some of the authors who have presented the historical evidence of the genuineness of the gospels with great ability, do themselves entertain opinions as to the *character* and *value* of those writings so

low as to render it almost doubtful whether they are worth the labor expended in their defence. They regard them as simply the works of men, and affected by the errors and mistakes of all human compositions. Indeed, Mr. Norton not only affirms that it is an essential misapprehension concerning the intrinsic character of the gospels, to regard them as works written by the inspiration of God, or under his immediate suggestion and superintendence ; but he considers this doctrine, on the one hand, an insuperable obstacle to all just apprehension of that vast amount of evidence for their truth which the gospels carry with them when properly regarded and understood, and, on the other, that it is from this doctrine that the objections with which their genuineness and authenticity have been assailed derive their chief strength. In short, to maintain their plenary inspiration is to furnish the strongest argument against their authenticity ! There is more than plausibility in this position. It may be fairly said, that, if they are called infallible, they should be free from the imperfections and mistakes of merely human narrators ; and when such imperfections and mis-

takes are nevertheless discovered, the unbeliever naturally thinks he has found an argument against the reality of revelation itself. If, therefore, the Christian insists on the infallibility of the gospels, while errors of fact are found in them, he does furnish an opportunity for plausible attacks on their credit.

Here is where the doctrine of an internal or spiritual sense is of most essential aid in establishing the authenticity and genuineness of the gospels. For if we admit that this sense is the important one; that it is entirely separate from, and parallel to, the literal sense; if we suppose that the gospel narrations are literally true, but that, in the infinite wisdom of God, the facts and occurrences were so arranged as to contain in themselves a spiritual meaning, and that the history of these facts and occurrences was written under Divine inspiration, we shall see that any errors of fact are apparent rather than real, and that the essential truths contained within the letter are the important matter. It may be, it probably is true, that the evangelists themselves were not aware of the full significance of their labors; that they

wrote the events as they occurred, while at the same time, the events themselves contained a spiritual history of deeper import and of far greater value than the writers had any conception of. In other words, the gospels were written according to the science of analogy or correspondence, and a knowledge of this science is essential not only to maintain their authenticity and genuineness, but to open the deep treasures lying beneath the literal sense. .

The same considerations apply to the objections that are now urged with so much pertinacity, if not ability, against the scriptures of the Old as well as the New Testament. In these, it is alleged, there is much of positive error. The chronology is defective; the geography is confused, sometimes unintelligible and often erroneous; a great portion of them is of no importance whatsoever; there are long genealogies, accounts of petty civil wars, personal histories of no value or interest, and, more than this, there is much that is positively objectionable in a moral point of view. As historical works, it is further urged, many of these writings are inferior to those from other pens, and,

as literary compositions, a portion of them are inferior to the productions of heathen writers. Now, then, the difficulty is here. If these books are to be regarded as the works of men, then some of them are not superior to other literary compositions from the pens of even heathen writers, and are of no more value. If they are to be regarded as the works of God and plenarily inspired, then the errors, inconsistencies and weaknesses are evidence against their credibility. But if we adopt the theory, that the works are inspired and *contain a deeper meaning than has yet been found*; if we suppose that the errors and inconsistencies are apparent rather than real; if we believe that their Divine Author still governs and sustains the world, still loves His children, and has yet infinite stores of wisdom to communicate to them as soon as they are capable of receiving them, and that His Word like His works, although in the exterior similar to the creations of man, has yet within itself a wisdom, power and harmony which are truly wonderful, our own doubts will disappear, and we may satisfy the unbeliever himself that his objections are not against the scriptures but

against the false notions regarding them entertained by men.

Where then are we to look for this new theory of interpretation, and under what circumstances and with what sanction will it come? This question suggests another subject apparently remote from but really intimately connected with it. In the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, after a prediction of the downfall of Jerusalem, we read: "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." Skeptics maintain that here is really a distinct prediction, that the end of the world would occur in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem and within the life time of the generation then on the stage. This was the view of Theodore Parker. Mr. Gibbon alludes to the subject with the keenest interest in speaking of the early Christians. "It was universally believed," he says, "that the end of the world and the kingdom of heaven were at hand. The near approach of this wonderful event had been predicted by the apostles; the tradition of

it was preserved by their earliest disciples, and those who understood in their literal sense the discourses of Christ himself, were obliged to expect the second and glorious coming of the Son of Man in the clouds," and he adds, with characteristic and elaborate satire; "The revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation." The difficulty has been variously explained. Erasmus removes it by the help of allegory and metaphor. Grotius supposed the pious deception was permitted, for wise purposes, to take place. Some modern theologians affect to understand it without either allegory or deception. Others regard it as the principal exegetical difficulty in the New Testament. But while the attempt is made to show that the prediction was not of an *immediate* event, it is even now the general view of the christian church, that the prophecy stands and will be accomplished, and that the second coming of the Lord in the clouds is to be expected. Even in this point of view the subject is attended with difficulties, and believers feel the force of Gibbon's warning, not to press too

closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation. Does it ever occur to theologians that the *nature* of the Lord's second coming has been misunderstood? We know that the Jews entirely mistook the prophecies respecting the Messiah. They expected a temporal sovereign and did not recognize the Saviour when he appeared. May it not be, that the second coming of the Lord in the clouds refers to the opening of the sacred Scriptures, a revelation to men of the hidden meaning, saving power and wonderful harmony of His Word, the letter of which has been preserved with such remarkable care through all the ages?

It is not possible to pursue this subject further at the present time, but any one disposed to examine it, by the light of the sacred writings and of the early as well as the later authorities, will find a remarkable concurrence of testimony to show, that the Second Coming of the Lord is not a coming in person, but the restoration of the true knowledge of divine subjects by the opening of the Scriptures. There are many circumstances in the present situation of the world which indicate that this period has ar-

rived.¹ If this be the true interpretation of the difficult passages, it affords an answer to one of the most strongly pressed objections both to the genuineness and authenticity of the gospels. But the question recurs, when, and under what circumstances, is the prophecy to be fulfilled? In answer to this it may be remarked, that, if the constructions formerly and generally put upon these passages are found to be erroneous and if the *character* of the Lord's second coming has been misunderstood, the minds of men will be in a better state to receive the truth when it is disclosed. In this connection, then, let us glance for a moment at the doctrines of Swedenborg in relation to the sacred scriptures, and see whether they are not worthy of more consideration and study than have been given to them heretofore.

Those who are familiar with the writings of this man find the science of correspondence quite simple and intelligible, and of most essential aid not only in the examination of Scripture

¹ See on this subject the *Appeal in behalf of the New Church*, by Samuel Noble. London: 1862. Also the *Plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures*, by the same author. London: 1826.

but also in the explanation of natural phenomena. But to others it is somewhat difficult to elucidate the doctrine in a few words. Persons, indeed, who do not admit and fully receive into their minds the fact of a spiritual world, which is intimately connected with, yet entirely distinct from the natural world, find it almost impossible to comprehend the idea of a mutual relation between each and every thing in the one with each and every thing in the other. A conscientious inquirer cannot fail to see, on reflection, that in and within the material form of all things that meet the eye, or are appreciated by the senses of man, there must be an internal basis or harmonious combination of parts or qualities. "The real internal," says Mr. Locke, "but generally in substances, unknown constitution of things, whereon their discernible qualities depend, may be called their essence,"¹ and he makes a distinction between nominal and real essence. The nominal essence, for example, of gold is that complex idea expressed by gold; and its real essence is the constitution of its insensible parts on which its properties depend,

¹ *Locke's Essays*, book iii, ch. iii, § 15.

and which is unknown to us. What this "essence" is, the mode and conditions of its existence and its exact relation to the "discernible qualities of things" have long puzzled the metaphysicians, most of whom in their reasonings on the subject practically ignore the actual existence of a spiritual world, which is within the natural world, and is the substantial life or "essential principle" of which the former is the outer covering. Nothing shows more clearly the separation between philosophy and religion, than the discussions of able and learned men on this and kindred topics. The struggles of intellectual giants, in attempting to explain the connection between material and mental phenomena, are no less unsatisfactory than remarkable. The profoundest truths, which they in vain attempt to fathom, are sometimes quite clear to the apprehension of the simple, who receive them as little children in the trusting confidence, that, as man was created "in the image and likeness of God," he is capable of receiving in a finite degree the attributes and qualities which exist in their infinite fulness in the divine nature; that everything depends

upon the Divine Power, not merely in its original inception and creation, but for its continued existence; and that it is as impossible to understand natural and spiritual phenomena without the constant admission of this truth, as it would be for anything to exist without the constant sustaining power of God. All the explorations of natural philosophers, all the discussions of metaphysicians, so far as they depart from this great central truth, lead to confusion, doubt and uncertainty, and not seldom end in darkness and despair.

Our material bodies exist in the natural world to which they are fitted and by which they are nourished and sustained. Our spirits at the same time exist in the spiritual world to which they are fitted and by which they are nourished and sustained. The clothing of the spiritual body is the natural body to which it corresponds in every particular. The spiritual acts through and by means of the natural body, which it uses for its purposes, and, while thus using it, is not immediately conscious of the spiritual world; nor can it be until death, when the natural body is laid aside for ever, and the spiritual body alone

remains. Every material thing in the universe is the outbirth or ultimate form of something in the spiritual world to which it corresponds, so that there is an exact mutual relation between the two and between everything in them.

This correspondence is not mere symbolism or representation, in the ordinary acceptation of those terms, but is unchangeable, uniform and exact; for nothing natural could exist but for what the metaphysicians call its essence, nor apart from what Swedenborg calls its correspondence. This correspondence or mutual relation not only exists between the spiritual and natural worlds, but it also exists between man himself and these two worlds, and between them all and the Creator. Man was truly created in the image and likeness of God. There is no attribute or form of the Infinite but has its correspondence or likeness in humanity. There is nothing in the spirit of man but has its likeness or correspondence in his body. There is nothing in the material universe but has its outbirth or representation in the spiritual world. Nor is there anything in the body or spirit of man but is connected by analogy with something in the

internal and external worlds. The whole universe, all the existences, animate and inanimate, are connected together. There is no break in the circle. There is nothing accidental; nothing purposeless; nothing in the whole range of spirit and nature, that has not its special use and its well-defined position, its exact correspondence.

If, then, the precise analogy or correspondence between spiritual and natural things were fully known, it is obvious that a language might be constructed in which, while none but natural images were used, purely intellectual ideas could be expressed, which would be of universal application, and which would be understood by all created beings. If every natural thing represents or corresponds to something spiritual; if everything external exactly relates to something internal, then a language might be formed on the principle, that when natural or outward and visible things are spoken of, inward and spiritual things are represented and signified, and thus the literal sense would have within it a spiritual sense of far deeper import and significance.

It is on this principle that the Scriptures were

written. They appear to be merely human compositions. But within the letter they are divine. They are narratives of historical events. In the letter they often treat of the rise and fall of nations, of wars, of combats of the display of human passions. Within all this they relate to spiritual combats, to regeneration, to the salvation of man, to the trials, the temptations and the dangers of humanity. In the letter, although often obscure, they comfort, support and elevate the soul. But in the spiritual sense they are plain, harmonious and consistent, and open an entirely new region to the mind; they lift man above the carking cares and sordid troubles of life; they show him the path he is travelling, exhibit to him the exact position he occupies in that path, point out to him the precise temptations he has to encounter and inform him how to overcome them.

The revealed will of God, as contained in His Word, must necessarily be of a higher order than his works as exhibited to the senses of man. And if the latter have an internal or essence to which they correspond, for a still stronger reason we shall expect that His Word would

have an internal or spiritual sense of higher significance and greater power than the mere literal sense.

“When you look upon a work of man,” says Le Boys Des Guays,¹ “for instance a painting or statue, having seen the surface, you have seen all. Not so with the works of God; however great their exterior beauties, dissection and the microscope reveal still more wonderful beauties within; and the scientific explorer who has pushed his researches to the extreme limits of science, is obliged to confess that what he has discovered is very far short of what still remains unknown. Every one knows, indeed, that there is an immense difference between the works of man and the works of God; but many look upon the Bible simply as a human composition of great antiquity, and in order to induce them to regard it as a work of God, it would be necessary to prove that the same difference exists between it and any ordinary book that there is between the works of God and the works of man. Now, from what has been said, you will see that the

¹ *Lettres à un Homme du Monde, ou Système de Philosophie Religieuse.* Par J. F. E. Le Boys Des Guays.

difference between the works of God and the works of man consists principally in this, that the works of God from the lowest in the scale of being to the very highest, have an interior organization, beyond what appears in their external form. Our object then would be to prove that the Bible also has an interior organization which does not appear in its outward form, or in its letter; and that like all the other works of God — though infinitely superior to them, because as *THE WORD*, it has created them — it presents to the dissecting knife and the microscope of illustrated human intelligence, interior beauties which become more and more wonderful, the more deeply one penetrates it. This interior organization to which the Lord himself most pointedly refers, by saying that His words are Spirit and Life, is the interior sense shrouded in the external or literal sense of the Bible.”

The doctrine of Swedenborg is, that certain of the books of the common version of the Bible contain an internal or spiritual sense, which is entirely separate from, and parallel to, the literal sense. The one sense can never run into the other; nor is it possible for any one by a study

of the literal sense to understand the spiritual sense which is upon a different plane and is a discrete degree above. "The spiritual sense of the Word is not that which shines forth out of the sense of the letter, while one is searching and explaining the Word to establish some tenet of the church. This sense is the literal sense of the Word. But the spiritual sense does not appear in the sense of the letter. It is within it, as the soul is in the body, as thought is in the eyes, and affection in the countenance, which act as one, like cause and effect."¹

It is hardly necessary to point out the essential difference between this doctrine and that of Strauss, which was (in his original work at least) that the whole history of our Lord was *mythic*, being a sort of amplification of vague traditions; or of the theory of Renan, that the gospels are *legendary narratives*, and that the events in the life of Jesus which seemed miraculous, wore this character partly through the blind enthusiasm of the apostles, and partly through pious fraud in which they had an active, and their master a consenting agency. The doc-

¹ Swedenborg: *Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture*, n. 5.

trine of Swedenborg in relation to an internal sense of the Scriptures is in no way inconsistent with the literal truth of the gospel narratives, but is confirmatory of it. He undoubtedly regards the internal sense as infinitely the most important, for, as he finely expresses it, the literal sense of the Word must pass, as it were, into a shade, before the internal can appear; even as the earthly body must die before man can clearly behold the spiritual things of heaven.¹

The science of correspondence according to which the Scriptures are written is nothing especially new; certainly, it was known in the primitive ages of mankind. Few men of learning now pretend to deny that the earth existed for ages prior to the Mosaic statement, or that the ordinary chronology is entirely at fault. Undoubtedly the account of the creation and the fall of man in the first chapters of Genesis is allegorical.² The man Adam represents a race or a church. The fall was actual but was

¹ *Arcana Cœlestia*, n. 1408.

² The six days or times are so many successive states of the regeneration of man. (Swedenborg: *Arcana Cœlestia*, n. 6.) The biblical account of creation was regarded by Dr. Knapp as early as

gradual. There was, according to Swedenborg, an ancient church, which extended over the greater part of the globe and flourished principally in Syria, the land of Canaan, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Chaldea, Assyria, Egypt, Nineveh, Tyre, and Sidon. There was a written word of this church, which consisted of both historical and prophetical books. It was lost in the course of time, only a few fragments of it being found in the books of Moses. In times more ancient still, the science of correspondence was fully understood, so much so that men were enabled to speak with angels. "In the most ancient church," says Swedenborg, "the Word was not written, but was revealed to every one who was of the church, for they were celestial men, thus in the perception of good and truth like the angels, with whom also they had fellowship; thus they had the Word written in their hearts. And inasmuch as they were celestial, and in society with angels, all things which they saw and apprehended by any sense were to them

1789 as a succession of pictures with existing nature in the foreground. This has been a favorite mode of representation among authors, the most brilliant exhibition of which was by Hugh Miller. *Hitchcock's Elements of Geology*, 388.

representative and significative of things celestial and spiritual, which are in the Lord's kingdom ; so that they saw indeed worldly and terrestrial things with their eyes, or apprehended them by their other senses, but from them and by them they thought concerning things celestial and spiritual : it was for this cause, and not otherwise, that they were able to speak with angels, for the things which are with the angels are celestial and spiritual, and when they present themselves to man, they fall into such things as are with man in the world." ¹ He also asserts not only that the science of correspondence was cultivated in many kingdoms of Asia and that Egyptian hieroglyphics were made in accordance with it, but that it was conveyed into Greece, where it was changed into fable ; and hence we have the mythology, which is clearly symbolical and representative although vague and fragmentary. When Mr. Gladstone, therefore, in his recent valedictory address as rector of the University of Edinburgh, treats with unsparing ridicule the prevalent opinion that the Greeks derived their civilization from the He-

¹ *Arcana Cœlestia*, n. 2896.

brews, he substantially although unknowingly agrees with Swedenborg in the idea, that they go farther back than the Jews to that ancient race which was near the angels themselves; as also when he further asserts that the pagan system represented a continuous unbroken tradition dating beyond the memory of man. It had come down from father to son for more than a hundred generations with an ostensible sameness and a very widely extended sway; and none could name the day when, in the two far famed peninsulars that had given the breath of life to the ancient world, it did not exist and prevail.

Nothing is more certain than that many of the early Christian fathers undertook an allegorical interpretation of the gospels. They believed in the literal sense and proposed a secondary. Mosheim states that even in the first century "several Christians adopted that absurd and corrupt custom, used among the Jews, of darkening the plain words of the holy scriptures by insipid and forced allegories, and of drawing them violently from their proper and natural signification, in order to extort from them certain hidden and mysterious significations." Of those in the sec-

ond century, he mentions Pantaenus, the head of the Alexandrian school of divinity, Clement of Alexandria, Justin, Theophilus bishop of Antioch, and says they all attributed a double sense to the words of scripture, the one obvious and literal, the other hidden and mysterious, which lay concealed as it were, under the veil of the outward letter. As for Origen in the third century, he maintained that the words of scripture were, in many places, absolutely void of sense; and that though in others there were indeed certain notions contained under the outward terms according to their literal force and import, yet it was not in these that the true meaning of the sacred writers was to be sought, but in a mysterious and hidden sense arising from the nature of the things themselves. The learned Mosheim further admits, that large numbers of Christian writers during several centuries contended for this principle, and the admission is the more significant because he himself strongly condemns it. It is not pretended that the allegorical interpretations were similar to those of Swedenborg, or founded on the same principles. But they do show conclusively, that, by the traditions of the

church from the earliest times down to the reformation, there was in the scriptures more than meets the eye—a hidden or internal sense.

It is no part of our intention to attempt a full explanation of the science of correspondence. We merely desire to call the attention of candid and reflecting men to a subject of transcendent interest and importance. Let them examine it for themselves. Nor indeed would it be possible in a brief space to give anything more than a bare idea of the system. The mission of this remarkable man was to explain the spiritual sense of the Word. He sets forth the principles on which he asserts it was written, and the subject is surely worthy of examination. Nor let any one suppose that it is to be disposed of in a day, or to be understood at a glance. The principles of the doctrine are simple. Their application may occupy a lifetime. If, as it is reasonable to believe, the Word of God is read by angels¹ as well as by men, it will be a subject of interesting study to devout men for ever. Nothing is more unreasonable than the demand

¹ For ever, O Lord, thy word is settled in heaven. *Psalm cxix*, 89.

often made for immediate, clear and satisfactory instruction on these points. But it is characteristic of the age. When Madame de Staël was introduced to Sir James Macintosh, her first remark is said to have been, "Now explain to me your philosophy in ten words." Swedenborg was one of the most prolific writers that ever lived. His literary career extended over a period of more than sixty years. Those who expect to comprehend his system without study and careful investigation cannot fail to be disappointed. At the same time, the elementary principles, on which it rests, as before remarked, are few and simple and not difficult of apprehension. His writings are more extensively read than is generally supposed. But it will probably be long before they can become popular in the ordinary sense of the term. Indeed, they strike so deeply at the foundation of existing philosophical systems; they are so outspoken and unsparing in their denunciation of error in all its forms, and they are so utterly at variance with the sensuous speculations of the age, that it is not surprising they are not held in higher esteem by the mass of mankind. It is surprising, however,

that they have not attracted more attention ; especially is it remarkable that they are so much misunderstood. A gentleman now living, while a student in the oldest university in the country, finding some of these works on the college catalogue, desired to examine them. They were not in the library. No one seemed to know where they were. At length after considerable search, they were found in a room that had been appropriated to curiosities, such as stuffed serpents, Indian relics and similar affairs. Such was the disposition of the works of a man, whose philosophical treatises alone on matters connected with the Physical Sciences, on the Principles of Chemistry, on the Economy of the Animal Kingdom, on Anatomy, making more than twenty volumes, all published before he wrote a line on theological subjects, should entitle him to respectful consideration among scholars.

The commonly received notion that there is something eccentric, odd and even ridiculous has done much to divert men from an examination of these works. The difficulty has been increased by foolish stories that have no foundation in fact, and also by extracts from the writings, which,

separated from the context, appear obscure and sometimes absurd.

There is one consideration however which has operated adversely, and which is worthy of attention. If there be an internal sense of the Word which is entirely distinct from the literal sense and which contains wonderful things, why has it never been revealed before? Why should men have been permitted to grope on in ignorance of that, the knowledge of which, if not essential to salvation, is at least of the greatest importance? This precise objection is the one most often made to new developments of truth because it is the easiest answer when none other is at hand. It was very much insisted on by the early opponents of the Christian religion. "If Christ," said Porphyry in the third century, "declares himself the way of salvation, grace and truth, and offers a way of return through himself alone, to believers in him, what was the lot of the many generations before him?" So Arnobius at the end of the same century took great pains to confute this reasoning which was made in his time. The answer of Bishop Butler that such an objection would be equally valid against innumerable facts

in the established course of nature where unquestionable experience refutes its validity and demonstrates its unsoundness, is effectual to silence the objector,¹ but is not so satisfactory to the reason by any means as the ground upon which Swedenborg places it, throughout his writings, namely, that the Lord himself must act according to the laws of order, and makes every revelation of truth so fast and so far as it consists with those laws and the freedom and safety of man.

It may be remarked here, that there is a striking similarity between the objections made by early opposers of Christianity and those made to the doctrines of the New Church, as any one disposed to examine those writings may easily see. Thus, Celsus, an Epicurean philosopher in the second century, argued that the Christian faith was but a republication of old truths; that the wonderful works of Jesus, if actually performed, were performed by magical arts. Mar-

¹ The invention of the steam engine, of the magnetic telegraph and anæsthesia are no less valuable and important to the human race although but recently known. What would be thought of a statement that they could not exist, because it is inconsistent with a merciful God not to have revealed them to man ages ago!

cus Minucius Felix, an eminent professional pleader at Rome, early in the third century wrote a defence of the Christian faith in the form of a dialogue between a heathen and a Christian, in which the former urges his objections and the latter answers them. Among these objections is the difficulty of arriving at religious truth, the great variety of speculations concerning it, and he declares it to be the only prudent course to follow the religion of one's ancestors. After a panegyric upon the systems of Gentile superstition, he rails at the Christians because they seek to overthrow or weaken so ancient, so useful, so salutary a faith. "A set of people they are," he says, "artful and shunning the light; in public they are dumb, in corners they are garrulous; they abhor the temples as they would funeral piles; they despise the gods; they ridicule our sacred solemnities. With astonishing folly and incredible arrogance, they defy present suffering, but tremble at that which is uncertain and future; and, while they fear to die after death, death itself they do not fear, a fallacious hope so soothes their dread with the image of after recompenses." He then speaks of

the story everywhere current, that, when they initiated novices, they put a child to death with many ceremonies and then licked its blood, and tore apart its limbs; and refers to their shameless promiscuous impurities, as being equally notorious. It is remarkable that these calumnies, though widely spread among the Gentiles, appear to have originated with the Jews. "No other people," said Justin, in the second century, alluding to the Jews, "no other people are so unjust to us and Christ as you, who have caused the prejudices of others against the Just One and us, his followers. For after you had crucified him, you sent out chosen men from Jerusalem into all the earth, saying that an atheistical sect, called Christians, had appeared, thus spreading those evil reports concerning us, which all who are ignorant of us now repeat."

The Emperor Julian, in the fourth century, after Christianity "had seated itself in the chambers of imperial council," and, in the person of Constantine, had ascended the throne of the Cæsars, opposed it strongly, and repeats the question, why, if such a revelation as that of Christianity was ever to be made, it should have been delayed so long.

The reader who is curious on the subject will not fail to be interested by the similarity of the objections, in ancient and in modern times, to any new revelation of truth. Those early made to Christianity are very clearly stated in Dr. Palfrey's Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity. In particular it is worth while to note the description, by this learned writer, of Josephus, and the manner in which he accounts for the entire silence by the Jewish historian, who was born ten years after the Crucifixion, on the subject of that wonderful event, and in fact of the Lord himself, for he alludes to him but twice, and even these passages have been supposed to be spurious. Josephus was a priest by virtue of his descent from a sacerdotal family; and, to his accomplishments as a scholar and writer, he added those of military skill. When the conquest of his country was completed, he retired to Rome, where he lived in honor. "We find Josephus," says Dr. Palfrey, "to have treated Christianity just as, under the circumstances that have been explained, we might have supposed that it would be treated by a person of his position in his time." "He was moving

in the high circles of society, where Christianity did not come much in his way; and he did not go in search of Christianity. His pleasures were those of elegant life; his cares were those of the politician and the soldier. He lived in a very stormy time, and a variety of subjects pressed themselves on his attention. If he had heard of the wonderful works wrought by Jesus in the generation preceding his own, he would say to himself, either that the relation was fabulous, or else, in the spirit of the age, that the wonders had been accomplished by demoniacal or magical arts; and, if the calumnies circulated from the first against the persecuted sect had reached his ear, they would but increase his coldness and his prejudice. In this state of ignorance and indifference, — similar, it is likely, to what would be the state of mind of a polite writer of the present day in relation to the Mormonites, — it is no matter of surprise, if we find in his writings no reference to Christianity.” Could there be a better description of the “state of ignorance and indifference” of Dr. Palfrey himself and of learned men like him¹ at the present day re-

¹ A curious illustration of this “ignorance and indifference” is

specting the doctrines of the New Church as explained by Swedenborg. Truly:—

“Out of the olde fieldes, as men saithe,
Cometh all this newe corn fro yere to yere;
And out of olde bookes, in goode faithe,
Cometh all this newe science that men lere.”

The celebrated passage of Mr. Macaulay, denying that revealed religion is of the nature of a progressive science, is of a piece with the early writers who opposed the Christian system. “All divine truth,” he says, “is, according to the doctrine of the Protestant churches, recorded in

afforded by the recent work of Mr. David Masson on Recent British Philosophy. He finds it necessary to allude to what he calls “British Swedenborgianism and the widely diffused forms of analogous belief represented in the so called literature of Spiritualism or Spirit Manifestations.” He speaks of “Swedenborgianism and its cognate Spiritualism,” and, in all his remarks, confounds the two in a manner to show the grossest ignorance of one of them at least, the truth being that what is known as Spiritualism prevails less extensively among the New Church than with any other class of men. Indeed, there cannot be found anything in the writings of Swedenborg that favors the theories or practices of Spiritualism. On the contrary, his doctrines are directly opposed to the teachings of the Spiritualists, and nowhere are the dangers of any such attempt to penetrate the other world more clearly pointed out, or the liability to fraud and deception by mischievous spirits more forcibly exposed. In no one thing are the doctrines of Swedenborg more remarkable than for practical common sense, and it will in general be found that those who receive them the most readily and hold them the most firmly are by no means idle dreamers or sentimental visionaries.

certain books. It is equally open to all who, in any age, can read these books; nor can all the discoveries of all the philosophers in the world add a single verse to any of those books. It is plain, therefore, that in divinity there cannot be a progress analogous to that which is constantly taking place in pharmacy, geology and navigation. A Christian of the fifth century with a Bible was neither better nor worse situated than a Christian of the nineteenth century with a Bible, candor and natural acuteness being of course supposed equal." He admits, indeed, that one reservation must be made. The books and traditions of a sect may contain, mingled with propositions strictly theological, other propositions purporting to rest on the same authority, which relate to physics. If new discoveries should throw discredit on the physical propositions, the theological propositions will share in that discredit.

This is the real difficulty in which the old church finds itself involved as to the Bible. A considerable portion of the literal sense is unintelligible, — some of it appears incoherent, if not absurd; while, by the advance of science,

portions are apparently proved to be incredible. Unless, then, there is to be some real advance in religious knowledge, unless these portions of the Bible can be reconciled with the discoveries of science, the Bible to that extent is discredited. Take the first chapter of Genesis, and compare the universal belief of the Christian Church, half a century ago, with that of to-day, since the great progress of philosophical discovery and the establishment of geology as a science, and what do we find? Few men of learning now pretend to receive the Mosaic account in its exact literal sense; nor does the fact that whole races lived upon the earth before the Adamic period rest upon the authority of Swedenborg alone. It is as well established as any scientific proposition. M. Alcide D'Orbigny, the eminent paleontologist, says, "A first creation took place in the Silurian stage. After that was annihilated by some geological cause, and after a considerable time, a second creation took place in the Devonian stage, and successively twenty-seven times have distinct creations repopled all the earth with plants and animals following each time some geological dis-

turbance. Such is the certain, but incomprehensible, fact, which we are bound to state, without trying to pierce the superhuman mystery that envelops it." "We know," says Dr. Hitchcock, "that the time was, when no animal nor plant lived because it was a molten world. What but a miracle could have filled it with inhabitants? *We know* that in after ages whole races died out and new ones came in, so that numerous entire changes of population occurred." ¹

Now if we adopt the narrow view of Mr. Macaulay, that in "divinity there cannot be a progress analogous to that which is constantly taking place in pharmacy, geology and navigation," where will the numerous advances in science leave the Bible? The Hindoo mythology, we are told, is bound up with a most absurd geography. Every young Brahmin, therefore, who learns geography, learns to smile at the Hindoo mythology. Apply the same doctrine to the Biblical student and where will it leave him? There are statements in the letter of the Word which appear unreasonable and directly

¹ *Hitchcock's Elements of Geology*, 380.

in conflict with well ascertained facts. If the literal sense is the only sense it must fall. But if within the literal sense there is another and a higher one which contains the sublimest truths, we can well suppose that the literal sense may in some instances be strained to a point almost beyond the credible, for the sake of the interior truth.

We have characterized the view of Mr. Macaulay as narrow. The term is almost too mild. In an age of such remarkable activity, of startling discoveries and of an unparalleled progress in scientific investigation, it is surprising to find a man of great learning and an earnest thinker, limiting human progress to the investigation of the works of our Maker, while his spoken Word is for ever to remain a sealed book, and the doctrines derived from it are to admit of no advance. On the contrary, it is more in accordance with good sense to suppose, that here may be the most important discoveries ever made. It is not in the natural sciences alone, that the boundaries of knowledge are to be enlarged; but in the Word of the Great Architect, in His immediate revealed will to man, there will be

opened new fields of discovery, vast, wonderful, sublime. Whether this time has come, whether the man has yet appeared, are the questions. Until the probability of such an event is admitted and its necessity is felt, men will be in no condition to appreciate the doctrine when it is enunciated. They prefer to stand by the ancient ways. They are looking for something different. They cannot conceal their contempt for a system which strikes at the foundation of all existing systems. They prefer to wrap themselves in the comfortable folds of received opinions, rather than to wander in what seems to them the inextricable confusion of mystical philosophy.

Of Swedenborg himself there is little to be said in this connection. His doctrines do not rest upon his personal character. If they did, there could be no stronger foundation of that kind. A man of vast learning, of great and varied accomplishments, of extreme sobriety of thought, a profound mathematician, a square and constant mind, holding a high position in the state to the day of his death, the companion of a great king and a frequent attendant at court for more than half a century, he was at all

times and under all circumstances the most simple and unostentatious of mortals. After thirty years of public service and of scientific investigations, he spent the rest of his life mainly in the development of the new doctrines; but his personal claims were never brought before the world. His works were written in Latin. They were printed at his own expense, and were deposited in the libraries of universities. He did not even affix his name to them at first, and only did so finally, at the suggestion of a friend, and from a sense of duty. He never undertook to form a sect,—much less to place himself at the head of a new religious movement. He pretended to no miraculous power in proof of his statements. He constantly insisted, that nothing of this sort was needed, or would be given at this day. In most of the biographies of this man there are accounts of events in his life, which appear to be well authenticated, and which tend to prove the reality of his intercourse with the spiritual world, but they are produced by his biographers on their own responsibility. They never were regarded by him as of any consequence, nor even alluded to. It

is a matter of regret that they occupy so prominent a position in the accounts of his life, inasmuch as they seem to be relied on as evidence of his mission, and to contradict his own repeated assertions that such evidence is at this day of no account.

This man, only the ignorant will misrepresent; only the vulgar will ridicule. The sometime brutal attacks of mere theologians are of little consequence, because they say nothing worse of him than they do of each other. But no one who is familiar with his personal history, or his achievements in literature and science, will entertain any feeling but that of respect. "I will venture to assert," says Coleridge, "that as a moralist, Swedenborg is above all praise; and that as a naturalist, psychologist and theologian, he has strong and varied claims on the gratitude and admiration of the professional and philosophical faculties." "Hitherto," Mr. Carlyle writes, "I have known nearly nothing of Swedenborg; or indeed I might say less than nothing, having been wont to picture him as an amiable but inane visionary, with affections quite out of proportion to his insight;

from whom nothing at all was to be learned. It is so we judge of extraordinary men. But I have been rebuked already; a little book, by one Sampson Reed, of Boston, in New England, which some friend sent hither, taught me that a Swedenborgian might have thoughts of the calmest kind on the deepest things; that, in short, I did *not* know Swedenborg, and ought to be ready to know him." "His writings," says Ralph Waldo Emerson, "would be a sufficient library to a lonely and athletic student." "Not every man can read them, but they will reward him who can." "The grandeur of the topics makes the grandeur of the style." "One of the missouriums and mastodons of literature, he is not to be measured by whole colleges of ordinary scholars."

Such is the man, who in the last century, after almost an ordinary lifetime of literary and scientific pursuits, announced himself as the "Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ," and undertook to develop a new doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. If he had done this on his own authority, if he had declared his doctrines as he published his scientific dis-

coveries, he might have escaped the stigma of being a fanatic. But he was content to state the truth just as he received it. "His books are a dry, unimpassioned, unexaggerated exposition of the things he daily saw and heard in the world of spirits, and of the spiritual laws which these things illustrate, with scarcely any effort whatever to blink the obvious outrage his experiences offer to sensuous prejudice, or to conciliate any interest in his reader which is not prompted by the latter's own original and unaffected love of truth." And herein is the great proof of his mission, that no mere human intellect could have invented a system like the one he has developed. Nor has the man yet appeared, whose writings tend more to exalt the Divine Word above all other works of the Creator. "The Word," he says, "is like a garden, which may be called a heavenly paradise, in which are delicacies and delights of every kind, delicacies from the fruits and delights from the flowers; in the middle of which are trees of life, and beside them fountains of living water and around the garden are forest trees."

At the commencement of these remarks, allusion is made to Mr. Greenleaf, the late Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University. We conclude them by a reference to the present Dane Professor of Law in the same university, who is the immediate successor of Mr. Justice Story, and who for forty years has been a reader of the writings of Swedenborg and a full believer in the doctrines of the New Church. He, too, has been a successful author of legal treatises. His works on Maritime Law, on Promissory Notes, on Mercantile Law, and his Laws of Business for Business Men are well known to the profession, while his greatest work, on the Law of Contracts, is a standard authority. He has frequently employed his pen in explanation and defence of his religious belief, and this brief attempt to call attention to Swedenborg's exposition of Scripture cannot be better concluded than by an extract from one of Mr. Parsons' essays:¹—

In former pages I have spoken of the correspondence between the world of matter and the world of

¹ *Essays by Theophilus Parsons.* First Series. Fifth edition. Boston: 1862.

spirit; nor could I say aught of Life, or of Divine Providence, without recognizing this correspondence; because only through it and by it have spiritual causes operated to produce material creation. The same causes always operate in the same way to preserve and perpetuate creation. All the powers and activities of nature, all its laws, its substances, its forms and changes, are at once the effect and the mirror of spiritual energies.

But the effect of this correspondence which first meets an inquirer into the doctrines of the New Jerusalem, is that which is manifested in the Word. He learns that this is written according to the laws of correspondence; that there is within the letter a spirit, within the body a soul. That the science of correspondence, being now revealed, interprets anew the Word of God, and discloses the spiritual truths which lie within the literal; and he finds very soon, in the works of Swedenborg, in sermons, and other New Church compositions, passages of Scripture so explained. The exceeding beauty of many of these explanations delights the imagination. The profound moral significance thus given to many texts, which in the letter "profit nothing," touches every heart that has any religious tendency; the emotion of surprise and the charm of entire novelty make these explanations yet more attractive. An earnest desire to read in this way all the Scriptures is awakened; and as yet the inquirer knows no reason why he may not learn to

interpret them by the science of correspondence, just as he has learnt or seen others learn to interpret them from their original languages. The attempt is made; but unexpected difficulties arise; it is not found easy, and seems indeed very difficult; and the disappointment produces not only a feeling of uncertainty as to what correspondences are, but perhaps a doubt whether they are anything more than a mere ingenious fancy. If such a person happens to have some acquaintance with "Phrenology," he may think of the "organ of comparison," of which it is supposed to be the office and the delight to discern resemblances and analogies, and to construct parables and symbolic representations. Much of this has always been done; but more in those Eastern lands, where the Old Testament and much of the New were written, than elsewhere; and he supposes the same faculty, existing in a high degree in Swedenborg, may have brought out many beautiful and striking results, without disclosing new principles or a new science.

We have known readers to labor awhile under these difficulties, from which they are gradually relieved, as they begin to understand better the grounds, principles and results of the science of correspondence. Some of the views and truths which may serve to make these difficulties press less heavily and pass the sooner away, I propose to present, very briefly.

In the first place, then, I must repeat that the

Science of Correspondence rests upon and springs from the Laws of Existence. The problem of Being presents its most difficult question to the human mind in the inquiry *how* God created and creates, sustains and fills the world. The answer is, — from Himself, and in such wise that all things being linked together and to Him, are connected by a mutual interdependence, and by definite relations. The inmost of all things, is Love. And this in its various forms of affection, desire, and purpose, produces thought; and thoughts clothe themselves in words. But the same power and providence which, from its own Love, supplies men with Love, makes the outward world also. All the energies, tendencies, and activities of the outward, material world, are derived from the same Love, and are images and forms which bear its impress and reveal its nature and operation. And not the laws and energies of nature only, but the substances and forms of this outward world, — *all its material things*, — are again effects and images of the same Love, and of the Divine Wisdom which springs from the Divine Love as men's thoughts do from their affections. Because the Divine Love is infinite and inexhaustible, and because it is guided by an equal wisdom, it is able and disposed to come down even into the lowest things of nature, and form there what is needed for use; and accommodate itself in every stage of its descent, to all the subjects which it forms and fills. Being every-

where one and the same infinite thing, however variously modified, all these subjects image it, reflect it, reveal it. And hence and thus, God is All in all.

One consequence of this is, that the whole material world is representative and significant of the inner world of spirit, mind, and affection. And this not generally only, but particularly; not in a loose, poetical, imaginative sense, but strictly and most truly so, by its constitution and the very laws of its being.

Another consequence is, that truths which relate to character, conduct, motive and life, *may* be imaged and represented by more external truths which relate to the things of the external world and have no apparent reference to duty; and truths which in express terms prescribe laws of conduct of an external kind, may have within them other and higher laws of spiritual life. This is the way in which the Bible—the Word of God—is written. Not by the genius of man, nor through a thorough knowledge of the laws of correspondence; but by Divine Inspiration. Because written by Divine Inspiration, and for the purposes of Divine mercy, it is so written that its external truths are and for ever will remain the *basis* of all religious or genuine improvement, while, at the same time, they contain a distinct class of higher internal truths. This is effected by the laws of correspondence, and it is in exact conformity with those laws. Hence, too, these internal truths are in no sense a substitute for, and still

less are they to be regarded as in the attitude of opposition to the external truths.

A large part of the Word, especially of the Old Testament, contains, in its literal sense, very little which has any discernible relation to conduct and character; and of this part it can only be said now, that treasures of truths which have this relation are here stored up within the spiritual sense. But the greater portion contains, in the literal sense, truths or facts illustrative of truths, which are precisely those needed and best adapted to improve the conduct and external character.

It is not difficult to understand that one truth and one kind of truth will operate beneficially upon a person in one state of mind and in one condition, and another truth upon a person in another state and condition. It is in this adaptation of truths, by various means, that the mercy and wisdom of God are manifested. Hence the vast diversity of religions; and hence the variety in the instruction and amount of knowledge given to different individuals, in the same church or professing the same religion. This diversity depends upon differences of character, which, for the most part, are beyond our perception or comprehension; and, therefore, even if we have a general understanding of the principles which must govern and direct this adaptation, we cannot always clearly comprehend the application of these principles to particular cases.

But the principal and most general means of this adaptation is the difference and mutual relation of the natural and spiritual senses of the Word. Nor can it be difficult to obtain some clear views of the ground of difference between the external and the internal truths of the Bible.

We must, in the first place, remember that the great purpose of the written Word, as of the incarnate Word, is, "to call sinners to repentance." Therefore it addresses itself *first* to sinners; to those who indulge sinful propensities and feelings and have acquired sinful habits. It is perfectly obvious, that with persons as yet buried in the slough of sinfulness, motives of the most elevated and spiritual character have little or no power. Fear, and the hope of recompense, and caution and prudence are, *in them*, all that can be appealed to successfully. The external truths and commands of the Word make this appeal. They require the renouncing of sinful pleasures and the resisting of sinful propensities, under fearful penalties and with magnificent promises. If they prevail; if the command be obeyed; then the whole conduct is reformed; then the various propensities to sin are weakened by resistance; new states of mind and feeling grow up; new capacities of improvement by new means are developed; for the mind can comprehend and the heart can feel new motives. Then the time has come when these new motives can be presented by means of new truths; and the new truths, which may supply new motives, are the

internal truths of the Word; and their relation to the external truths of the Word is such, that an obedience to the literal commands of Scripture is the precise and appropriate preparation for listening to its spiritual commands.

In fact, these commands may be called the same. The literal truth of the word is the same with its spiritual truth; but it is this truth brought down into lower forms, in order that it may thereby be adapted to lower states of thought and affection, and elevate them; and as these are elevated, the truth rises also, and the faint light of morning brightens into day.

In considering the intellectual difficulties which oppose a thorough learning of the science of correspondence, its extent should be regarded. For the spiritual truth of the Word, in its own nature infinite, can be adequately expressed by correspondent natural truths, only because the correspondence between spiritual and natural things is universal. This lower world is but a world of effects, of which the higher and inner spiritual world is the world of causes. Every thing, every substance, every energy, every law of nature, is the effect of a spiritual cause to which it corresponds, and of which it is the expression and image. Hence the science of correspondence can never be fully known, until the whole spiritual world, and all the natural world, and all the laws of mind and matter are fully known. That is, it can never be fully known; because the condition of a healthy human mind, in this world

and in the other, is one of eternal progress and improvement. More is continually learnt of the love and wisdom of God as manifested in creation, and therefore more is continually learnt of the science of correspondence. But it follows, also, that all progress in the knowledge of this science assists all progress in other knowledge; and, on the other hand, if the leading principles of this science are rightly apprehended, all true knowledge promotes the better understanding of them, and of their use and application.

Besides the extent of this science, there are other sources of difficulty. One of them is this. Whatever proceeds from the Source of being is in itself, and in its origin, good; and yet there is much evil in the world; because that which is good in its origin and essence is abused and perverted by man. Thus, Love, from Him who is Love itself, entering into the will of man, becomes love, desire, affection, in him. But it becomes such desire or affection as the character of his will may make it; and therefore love with evil men becomes love of self and hatred of others. In the same way truth becomes falsehood. And whatever in the natural world corresponds to and signifies love or truth, may also be used to signify their opposites; and sometimes the question, which of these is meant, may present a difficulty, although very generally the context makes it clear.

Love and Wisdom, in their divine perfection and infinity, are the Lord; and heat and light are their first

and most general representatives in nature. For these flow continually from the sun, which is the image of the Lord, and represents him in the work of creation. The whole material world is dependent upon and governed by the sun, and everything in it stands in a definite relation to its heat and light; and this relation corresponds to the relation between spiritual things and Love and Wisdom. Hence, as there is nothing in nature which does not stand in its own definite relation to heat and light, so there is scarcely anything which may not be used to represent and indicate Love or Wisdom in some of their forms or operations. The difficulty of always distinguishing these, of always discerning and applying aright the laws of the science of correspondence which relate to them, is similar to the difficulty we find in comprehending and classifying the things of nature, and acquiring a clear view of their natural causes, laws, and relations.

But there is nothing in this or any difficulty, which diminishes the worth of the science of correspondence, or should operate as a reason for neglecting the study of it. It will be understood that we have spoken of these difficulties only in reference to the endeavor to acquire a thorough knowledge of the science. What is there of equal value which does not demand equal labor? But this same science offers itself at once to the most simple, as explaining much that was before hopelessly dark, and as giving life and utility to many passages of the Word which were but a dead letter.

Indeed, the science has never been wholly lost, and cannot be. Some of its results are so obvious that they force themselves upon every mind; as for instance, the analogy between Love and Heat, and between Truth and Light. The very faculty of comparison, of which I have spoken in the beginning of these remarks, has always found its most delightful and elevating exercise in detecting and exhibiting these analogies. Poetry is full of them; and the loftiest and purest of all poetry is in the Bible, for the very reason that here the laws of correspondence exert their full influence. The proper function of the imagination is not to delude, or give to nothing the name of something. The Creator of man gives him no faculty of which the principal office is deception. We use our imagination aright, when we look above the low plane of sensuous thought, and bring higher truths down within the reach of reason; of reason in its childlike mood, loving to labor in the service of religion. The Oriental world, say critics and philosophers, was always characterized by a disposition to figurative and parabolic expression; and *hence* the Bible is full of it! But the Bible is God's Word; and its fulness of symbolic language arises from its absolute conformity with the laws of correspondence. In the East, where, in the early ages of the world, the science which discloses these laws was well known, the remains of it, brought down by tradition, and the effect of it perpetuated through successive generations, have im-

parted to the human mind in those regions that peculiar disposition.

It is of some importance to discard from the mind the idea that the science of correspondence offers a new translation of the Bible to be learnt as others are. It is not as a foreign tongue that it is to be considered, for many reasons. In the first place, it is not, as we have already said, all foreign. In many passages the symbolic character is manifest, and the spiritual meaning comes to the surface, and is and always has been universally recognized. There are very many others, indeed the greater part of Scripture, where the internal meaning may be distinctly discerned, after a little acquaintance with the principles of correspondence and some practice in applying them. Then, however, the work only begins. Because the laws of correspondence are among the essential laws of creation and existence, and because all creation images and reflects the infinite attributes of the Creator, therefore the science of correspondence is itself infinite, and progress in it will be eternal. Therefore greater meaning and more fulness, variety and force of meaning will be discovered and constantly again discovered in the most familiar passages, as they are considered in connection with others, and in their relation to various laws of mind and of matter.

One thing should always be remembered in the study of this science. It is not a merely natural science. It is not one which stands disconnected from

the will and the life. No science, and no truth, needs to be so disconnected; for there is no knowledge of anything in the universe of God which should not point the way and lift the soul to Him. The time is coming when all the paths of truth will be found leading upwards to their origin. But other sciences *may* be so disconnected. This cannot be. The one thing which it teaches is the correspondence of the whole material world with the spirit-world; and its application to Scripture gives moral instructiveness and religious force to every passage.



LIST
OF THE
WORKS OF SWEDENBORG,

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC.

1709—1745.

1709. — L. Annæi Senecæ et Pub. Syri Mimi forsan et aliorum Selectæ Sententiæ. Quas notis illustratas edidit EMANUEL SWEDBERG [SWEDENBORG]. At fidem rarissimæ editionis principis anni 1709 denuo publici juris fecit et fragmenta nuper reperta adjecit *Dr. J. F. E. Tafel*. Tubingæ: 1841. — The first edition was published at Upsala in 1709.
1710. — Ludus Heliconius, sive Carmina Miscellanea, quæ variis in locis cecinit EMAN. SWEDBERG [SWEDENBORG]. Edit. iii., emendata et locupletata recensuit. *Dr. J. F. Eman. Tafel*. Tubingæ: 1841. — The first edition was published at Skara in 1710.
1715. — Camena Borea cum Heroum et Heroidum factis ludens: sive Fabellæ Ovidianis similes cum variis nominibus scriptæ ab EMAN. SWEDBERG [SWEDENBORG]. Ad fidem editionis principis anno 1715. Gryphiswaldiæ excusa denuo edidit *Dr. Jo. Fr. Em. Tafel*. Tubingæ: 1845.

- 1716, 1717, 1718. — *Dædalus Hyperboreus, sive Nova Experimenta Mathematica et Physica.* Upsaliæ: 1716, 1717, 1718. 4to.

This work, consisting of new experiments in mathematics and physics, by Swedenborg and several of his scientific friends, was published in six parts, all of which are in Swedish; but the fifth part has a Latin version also.

1718. — *Foersoek, att finna Oestra och Westra Laengden igen, igenom Månan.* Upsala: 1718. 8vo, pp. 38.

Attempts to find the Longitude of Places by Lunar Observations.

This is the original Swedish edition of the work subsequently published in Latin at Amsterdam in 1721, of which a second edition was printed about the year 1766.

1718. — *Regel-Konsten* forfatted i Tijo Bokker, &c. Upsala: 1718. 8vo, pp. 135.

Algebra, or the Art of Rules, comprised in ten books, &c.

1719. — *Om Wattenens Hoegd, och foerra Werldens starka Ebb och Flod, Bewis utur Sverige.* Stockholm: 1719. 8vo, pp. 40.

Arguments derived from Appearances in Sweden in Favor of the Depth of the Waters and Greater Tides of the Sea in the Ancient World.

1719. — *De Monetarum Mensurarumque Ordinatione Decimali.*

On the Decimal System of Moneys and Measures, to facilitate Calculation, and abolish Fractions. This work was published in Swedish, with the following title, "Forslåg till våch Myrts och Måls Indelning." Upsala: 1719. 4to. In the Catalogue of the Upsala Library, another edition of this work in octavo, 1795, is mentioned.

1719. — Om Jordenes och Planeternas Gång och Stånd. Skara : 1719.

On the Motion and Position of the Earth and Planets.

1721. — Specimens of a work on the Principles of Natural Philosophy, comprising new attempts to explain the Phenomena of Chemistry and Physics by Geometry. Amsterdam : 1721.

1721. — New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, and particularly respecting the Elemental Nature of Fire : together with a new Construction of Stoves. Amsterdam : 1721.

1721. — A New Mechanical Plan of constructing Docks and Dykes. Amsterdam : 1721.

1721. — A Mode of discovering the Powers of Vessels by the application of Mechanical Principles. Amsterdam : 1721.

1722. — *Miscellanea Observata*. Miscellaneous Observations connected with the Physical Sciences. Parts i.—iii. Leipzig, 1722 ; Part iv., Schiffbeck, near Hamburg.

1734. — *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. 3 vols., folio. Dresden and Leipzig : 1734.

The first volume, called the “*Principia*,” is translated into English under the following title : *The Principia, or the First Principles of Natural Things ; being new attempts toward a Philosophical Explanation of the Elementary World*. First English translation. London : 1846.

1734. — *Prodromus Philosophiæ Ratiocinantis de Infinito, et Causa Finali Creationis, deque Mechanismo Operationis Animæ et Corporis*. Dresdæ et Lipsiæ : 1734.

Outlines of a Philosophical Argument on the Infinite, and the Final Cause of Creation ; and on the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body.

1740-1. — *Œconomia Regni Animalis, anatomice, physice, et philosophice perlustratum.* Amsterdam: 1740-1.

The Economy of the Animal Kingdom considered anatomically, physically, and philosophically.

1744-5. — *Regnum Animale, anatomice, physice, et philosophice perlustratum.* Vols. i., ii. Hagæ Cometum: 1744. Vol. iii. Londini: 1745.

The Animal Kingdom considered anatomically, physically, and philosophically.

1745. — *De Cultu et Amore Dei.* Londini: 1745.

On the Worship and Love of God.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS.

Clavis Hieroglyphica Arcanorum Naturalium et Spiritualium, per Viam Repræsentationum et Correspondentiarum. Opus posthumum.

A Hieroglyphic Key to Natural and Spiritual Mysteries.

Opuscula quædam Argumenti Philosophici.

Posthumous Tracts.

Œconomia Regni Animalis. Pars iii. Londini: 1847.

Regnum Animale, Partes iv., vi., and vii. Tubingæ: 1848, 1849.

Part vi. translated under the title, "Generative Organs;" published in London 1852.

THEOLOGICAL WORKS.

Written in Latin between the year 1745, at the age of fifty-seven, and his death in 1771, at the age of eighty-three.

1756. — *Arcana Cœlestia*. Heavenly Mysteries contained in the Sacred Scriptures, or Word of the Lord, unfolded: first, those which are in Genesis; and, secondly, those which are in Exodus. Together with Wonderful Things seen in the World of Spirits and in the Heaven of Angels. 8 vols., 4to. London: 1749-1756.

1758. — *Of Heaven and its Wonders, and of Hell*, — from things heard and seen. London: 1758.

1758. — *Of the Last Judgment, and Babylon destroyed*; showing that all the Predictions in the Apocalypse are at this day fulfilled, — from things heard and seen. London: 1758.

A Continuation concerning the Last Judgment and the Spiritual World.

1758. — *Of the White Horse mentioned in the Apocalypse*, chap. xix.; with references to the *Arcana Cœlestia* on the subject of the "Word" and its spiritual or internal sense. London: 1758.

1758. — *Of the Earths in our Solar System, which are called Planets, and of the Earths in the Starry Heavens; of their Inhabitants; and of Spirits and Angels there; from things heard and seen.* London: 1758.

1758. — *Of the New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine, from Things heard out of Heaven. To which is prefixed something concerning the New Heaven and the New Earth.* London: 1758.

1763. — *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom.* Amsterdam: 1763.

1763. — The Four Leading Doctrines of the New Church, signified by the New Jerusalem, in the Apocalypse, chap. xxi. : being those of the Lord, His Divine and Human Natures, and the Divine Trinity ; the Sacred Scripture ; Faith and Life ; Continuation concerning the Last Judgment, and the Destruction of Babylon. Amsterdam : 1763.
1764. — Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Providence. Amsterdam : 1764.
1766. — The Apocalypse Revealed ; wherein are disclosed the Arcana which have there been foretold, and which have hitherto remained hidden. Amsterdam : 1766.
1768. — The Delights of Wisdom concerning Conjugal Love ; after which follow the Pleasures of Insanity concerning Scortatory Love. Amsterdam : 1766.
1769. — A Summary Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church, signified by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. Amsterdam : 1769.
1769. — Of the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body, which is supposed to be effected either by Physical Influx, or by Spiritual Influx, or by Pre-established Harmony. Amsterdam : 1769.
1771. — The True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church, foretold by the Lord in Daniel, chap. vii., 13, 14 ; and in the Apocalypse, chap. xxi., 1, 2. Amsterdam : 1771.

The theological works of Swedenborg, published in his lifetime, comprise, when taken together, an amount equal to about twenty-seven volumes octavo, of five hundred pages each ; twenty volumes of which are employed in explaining the spiritual sense of the Sacred Scriptures.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS.

These were deposited in the library of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm. Many of them have since been edited and published by the late Dr. J. F. E. TAFEL, Professor and Librarian in the University of Tübingen.

The Coronis, or Appendix to the True Christian Religion; treating of the four churches on this earth since the creation of the world, and of their periods and consummation; of the New Church about to succeed them, which will be truly Christian, and the crown of the preceding churches; of the coming of the Lord to that Church, and of His Divine auspices therein to eternity; and of the Mystery of Redemption, with a brief Continuation.

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